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# Kiao-Chow as a Spoil of the World War

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THE WORLD WAR



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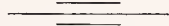
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# KIAO-CHOW AS A SPOIL OF THE WORLD WAR

BY

YING LAM LEE

The Secretary of the Eastasian



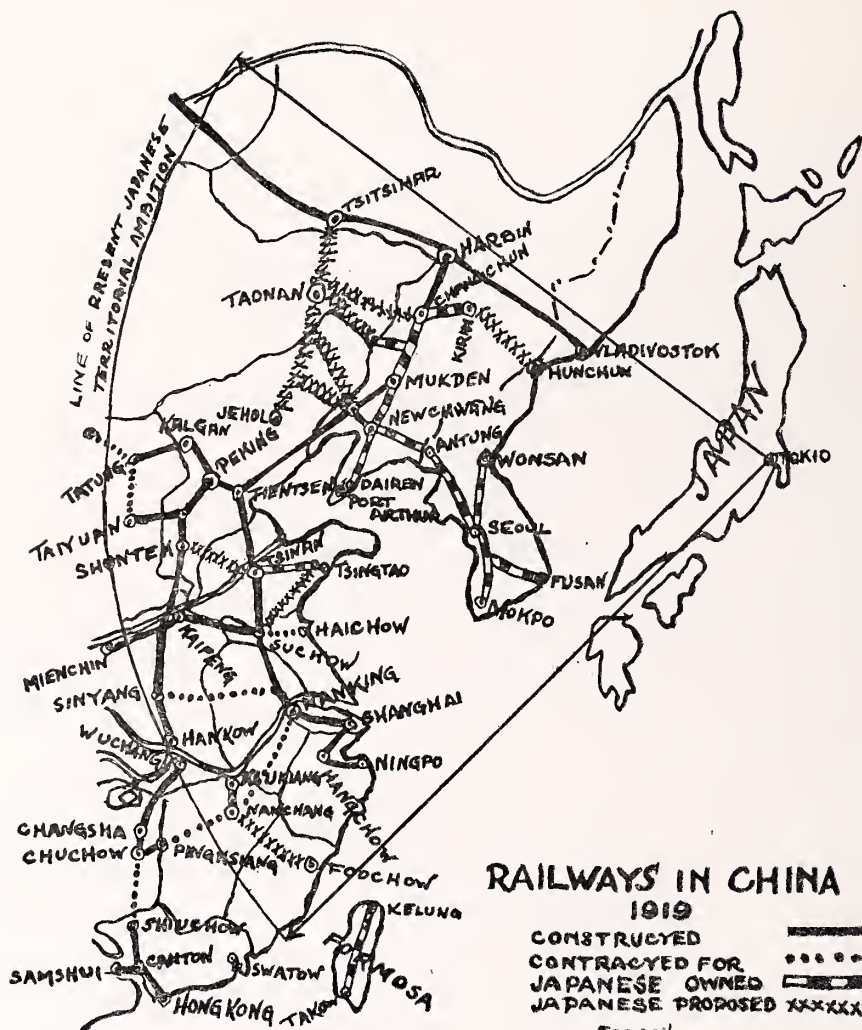
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# RAILWAYS IN CHINA 1919

CONSTRUCTED  
 CONTRACTED FOR  
 JAPANESE OWNED  
 JAPANESE PROPOSED

500 miles  
 Scale



# Kiao-Chow as a Spoil of the World War

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## 1. THE SETTLEMENT OF THE KIAO-CHOW QUESTION BY THE PEACE CONFERENCE HAS GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO THE WORLD.

The world war is over. The Peace Treaty has been signed. The League of Nations is going to exist. Many people have prophesied that the world will be free forever from war. In view of the terrible death, the tremendous financial burden, the great material loss and other unseen sufferings as results of the last war, upon the warring nations, people for years to come will not want to think of war any more. On the other hand many people are still questioning whether the recent Peace Treaty has increased international good will and decreased national selfishness, or has created more hatred among nations. Are the strong nations not free now to wrong the weak nations, as the result of the Peace Treaty, which was said to adopt Wilson's fourteen points as its base? It seems so to China, which represents one-fourth of the world's population. Kiao-Chow, with other German interests in Shantung, has been given to Japan by the Peace Conference or rather by the "Big Three." It is very unjust to China. Many thinking people have predicted that this action of the Peace Conference will lead to a great war in the Far East, unless the injustice is corrected. As Professor Jenks of the University of New York says, "The award seems contrary to the principles of right and justice, so contrary that unless some factors enter that do not appear, the decision is almost certain to bring about war in the Far East, and in that war the United States would almost certainly be involved."

It will be a war as a result of rivalry among imperialistic nations over their interests in China. It is not a war between the Yellow race on the one side and the White race on the other, as some people think, that Japan will dominate all Asiatic nations and try to keep away the white people from Asia, which then leads to war. It is strongly against the will of the Chinese people to have China dominated by Japan. If such a war would ever come at all, it would never benefit China. China does not want to see its coming.

The great wave of World Democracy is marching on. The Imperialism of this world has to give way sooner or later, through peace or

war. If there will be no war among the imperialistic nations, there may be a war between imperialism and democracy. Will then the democratic nations of this world not take part to aid in the crushing of imperialism? Senator Lodge says, "England stood by and saw Germany take away from Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein; she stood by and saw Germany destroy Austria and make it practically a vassel state; she stood by and saw Germany wreck France in 1870; she gave Germany the island of Helgoland, and she has been paying the bills for those awful mistakes in the last four terrible years. She has done it nobly, splendidly, but at a terrible cost."<sup>1</sup> Shall the democratic nations of today follow England's policy in dealing with "the Germany of Asia?"

## 2. GEOGRAPHY OF SHANGTUNG.

In order to realize the significance of the Kiao-Chow question, one must know the geography of Shangtung Province, where Kiao-Chow, the German-leased territory, is situated. Tsingtao is a sea port in Kiao-Chow. Japan's ambition is not merely on Tsingtao or Kiao-Chow, but the whole province of Shangtung. Shangtung is one of the most important provinces of China. She and Manchuria, now under Japanese domination, entrench on both sides of the Gulf of Pe Chi Li, the water outlet of the capital of China, Peking. She controls the outlet of the Yellow River, which runs down from the internal part of northern China. She has the longest sea coast in China. The area of Shangtung is 55,970 square miles, with a population of 38,247,900. It is the most densely populated province in the world. Belgium herself had only about 350 persons per square mile before the war. Shangtung furnishes strong laborers, the best soldiers and industrious farmers. The Chinese labor battalion in France is composed mostly of men from this province.

Shangtung is one of the oldest provinces in China. She has a long history of her own. She is China's holy land, packed with memories of Confucius and Mencius, great sages of China. It is the cradle of Chinese civilization.

## 3. GERMANY'S OCCUPATION OF KIAO-CHOW.

During the Chino-Japanese war in 1894-5 China was brought down on her knees before the Island Empire. China could not stand any more war. The world powers knew her weakness and were coming after her. In 1898 Germany started in first and took Kiao-Chow. France followed and took Kwang-Chow-Wan. After that Liao-Tung peninsula with Port Arthur and Dairen went to Russia and Wei-Hai-

Wei to England. They were all leased territories under different terms.

The case of Kiao-Chow was due to the killing of two German Catholic missionaries by the native Chinese in Shangtung. German warships were sent to the Bay of Kiao-Chow and opened fire, landed troops, occupied the territory. It was an act of aggression — a distinguished characteristic of Prussian militarism.

The important feature of the convention between China and Germany may be outlined as follows: <sup>2</sup>

A. "Both sides of the entrance of the Bay of Kiao-Chow with the island of Chiposan, and Potato Island, and 'all islands lying seaward from Kiao-Chow Bay which may be of importance for its defense,' an area of some 400 sq. mi. in all, to be leased to Germany for 99 years.

B. "By Art. 1 of Section 2, Germany was sanctioned to build two railways. Art. 2 of the same section provided for a Chino-German Railway Co., 'and in this company both German and Chinese subjects shall be at liberty to invest money as they so choose, and appoint directors for the management of the undertaking.'

C. "Art. 3 of the same section provided, 'The Chinese Government will allow German subjects to hold and develop mining property for a distance of 30 li (one li is approximately 1/3 of a mile) from the side of these railways and along the whole extent of the lines.' Chinese capital may be invested in these operations:

D. "Art. 4 of the same section provided that 'The Chinese Government binds itself in all cases where foreign assistance in persons, capital, or material may be needed for any purpose whatever within the province of Shantung to offer the said work or supplying materials in the first instance to German manufacturers and merchants engaged in undertakings of the kind in question.'

Besides what have been mentioned above, a neutral zone was established in the immediate hinterland involving some 2,500 square miles. Twenty per cent. of the duties collected by the Chinese Custom House at Tsingtao was contributed toward the local administrative expenses of Tsingtao.

The German government decided to build up Tsingtao into a modern commercial and naval port. She spent an average of 14,000,000 Marks per year for the administration of Tsingtao. Modern roads, huge floating docks, substantial breakwater granite docks, warehouses, factories, machine shops, schools and military departments gradually sprang up. At the same time several cities in Shangtung were voluntarily opened up by the Chinese government for commercial posts.

The population was in 1913, at Tsingtao, 60,500; in the Leased Territory, 192,000; in the Zone, 1,200,000. Of these only 4,470 were Europeans, 3,806 being Germans; this figure including both civilians and soldiers.<sup>3</sup> No doubt the German occupation of Kiao-Chow was a result of imperialism and militarism, yet she never went so far, in violating

the sovereignty of China, as Japan has done since she came into Shangtung.

#### 4. JAPAN'S OCCUPATION OF KIAO-CHOW.

When the world war broke out in Europe, August, 1914, Japan, in the name of a British ally with a selfish and aggressive purpose, sent an ultimatum to Germany, demanding her to withdraw all her armed forces from the Japanese and Chinese waters, and to hand over the entire leased territory of Kiao-Chow to the Japanese authorities without condition or compensation, not later than September 15, with a view to restoring the same to China. This ultimatum was to be answered by the German government not later than noon, August 23, 1914. The German government failed to answer. At that time China was neutral. On September 2, Japanese troops were landed at Lungkou on the northern coast of Shangtung, nearly one hundred miles away from Kiao-Chow, from where they marched overland to attack the German military base. Germany violated Belgian neutrality, and Great Britain declared war on her. Here Japan was doing the same thing as Germany did in Belgium. Chinese subjects and properties were suffering from Japanese troops. The Chinese government protested against the action of Japan, but the Japanese paid no attention. Then, following the precedent set in the Russo-Japanese war, the Chinese government declared voluntarily a war zone, where the Japanese had begun to carry on their operations. It was clear to the Japanese as well as to others that the German military forces were concentrated in Kiao-Chow. In spite of this fact Japanese troops were sent to Weih sien, which was outside of the war zone, and then to Tsinanfu, the capital of Shangtung, which is 256 miles from Kiao-Chow. As Professor S. K. Hornbeck says, "Observers, who were familiar with the history of Manchuria, now began to point out that Japan was bent upon much bigger things than merely the defense of the interests of her ally and the peace of the Far East."<sup>4</sup>

With the help of a small British force, Japan captured Tsingtao on November 7, which gave complete control of the German interests in Shangtung to the allies. The whole campaign took about two months, in which about 300 Japanese soldiers were killed. This should be compared with the period of the world war, which was over four years, and the number of soldiers killed was 7,981,806. In return Japan's gains in Shangtung are thus stated in the official summary of the peace terms:

"Germany cedes to Japan all as to Kiao-Chow and the railroads, mines, and cables acquired by treaty with China of March 6, 1898, and by other agreements as to Shangtung. All German



rights to the railroad from Tsingtao to Tsinanfu, including all facilities and mining rights and rights of exploitation, pass equally to Japan, and the cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and Chefoo, the cables free of all charges. All German state property, movable and immovable, in Kiao-Chow is acquired by Japan free of all charges."

Since November, 1914, Japan has gone farther in violating the sovereignty and integrity of China in Shangtung than Germany ever did before, namely, she established civil and military administrations with policing forces in towns and cities along the railroad line from Tsingtao to Tsinanfu and secured full control of the Chinese Customs Administration in Tsingtao. "She will gradually create a railway enclave on the Manchurian model in the heart of old China. For along the course of such railways new railway towns inevitably spring up, bringing all the complications which conflicting jurisdiction creates. In solving such conflicts the stronger power first employs force; then, to give its authority a deeper meaning, it sets up its own courts, administers so-called justice, and sends its police officers far from the zone of the railway to satisfy judgments. This is already what has happened in Shangtung, it will happen wherever Japanese railways go."<sup>5</sup> Now every Chinese citizen in Shangtung is confronted with Japanese influence. Thousands upon thousands of Japanese have been flowing into Shangtung ever since the capturing of Kiao-Chow by Japan.

We have heard too many times that Japan claims to be a good friend of China. Let us see what Japan has done to injure the morale and health of the Chinese people both in Shangtung and elsewhere. Since the coming of the Japanese into Shangtung, they have organized in Tsinanfu alone 194 enterprises, out of which 63 are drugshops and twenty-two are houses of prostitution.<sup>6</sup> Drug shops and other miscellaneous and notion shops are places where they are engaged in morphia traffic. This kind of business is carried on not only through drug shops but also through drug sellers, who penetrate into the heart of China, and the Japanese Post Offices, which number more than three hundred within the territory of China. Japan is poisoning and weakening China from her official classes down, so as to make her an easy prey to the aggressor.

While the morphia traffic is going on, Japan is also smuggling opium into China. We can never forget the noble deed of the Chinese government, which burned up about \$25,000,000 worth of opium in January, 1919, when she was under great financial difficulty. On the other hand Japan is trying to injure China by the morphia and opium business. This is more clearly shown by the following statements:

"Although Japan is a signatory to the Agreement, which forbids the import into China of morphia or of any appliances used in its manufacture or in its application, the traffic, inasmuch as it has

the financial support of the Bank of Japan is carried on with the direct approval and encouragement of the Japanese Government. In no other country in the world has there ever been known such a wholesale contraband traffic. Literally tens of millions of yen are transferred annually from China to Japan for the payment of Japanese morphia. The chief agency in the distribution of morphia in China is the Japanese Post Office. Morphia is imported by parcel post. No inspection of parcels in the Japanese Post Offices in China is permitted to the Chinese Customs Service. The Service is only allowed to know what are the alleged contents of the postal packages as stated in the Japanese invoices, and yet morphia enters China by this channel by the ton.

"But while the morphia traffic is a large one, there is every reason to believe that the opium trade, upon which Japan is now embarking with such enthusiasm, is likely to prove even more lucrative. One must emphasize that this opium is not imported to Japan. It is transhipped in Kobe harbour to Tsingtao, from which point of vantage, assisted by the Japanese-controlled railway to Tsinanfu, it is smuggled through Shangtung into Shanghai and the Yangtze Valley. Opium purchased in Calcutta for Rs. 3,500 per chest, about Tls. 1,000, costs delivered in Kobe Harbour, all told well under Tls. 1,200 per chest. This opium, Tsingtao opium, is sold at Shanghai at \$500 a ball of forty balls to the chest, a total of \$20,000 per chest. China's failure to sell (for medicinal purposes) her opium at \$27,000 per chest, the price asked by the opium ring, is thus explained. The price is undercut by the Japanese. The dimensions that the traffic has already assumed are noteworthy. There is reason to believe that between January 1 and September 30 of this year 1918, not less than 2,000 chests of opium purchased in India were imported into Tsingtao via Kobe."

"As in railways, so in customs matters, it is again Japan that renders so difficult the task of real reform. At all ports where Japanese commissioners of Maritime Customs hold office it is undeniable that centres of contraband trade have been established, opium and its derivatives being so openly smuggled that the annual net import of Japanese morphia (although this trade is forbidden by International Convention) is now said to be something like twenty tons a year, sufficient to poison a whole nation. In the case of Tsingtao, it has been proved beyond a doubt that since the Japanese military occupation opium has been introduced at military stores on such an immense scale as to give the authorities a royalty of several million pounds sterling, with which immense tracts of land around Kiao-Chow Bay have been purchased."

When the European Powers were busy in the great war, Japan had a free hand in China. The Allies were trying their best to please her in order to maintain her friendship. They could do nothing but accept what Japan wanted to do in China. It was also quite evident that the great war would not end quickly. Japan grasped this great opportunity to satisfy her various territorial and economic ambitions. The notorious twenty-one demands were sent to China January, 1915. China could not accept such unjust demands, so she refused. So unjust were the Japanese demands that China did not yield until an ultimatum was sent to her by Japan and she was threatened by a Japanese invasion. Four out of the twenty-one demands were concerning the German interests in Shangtung. They are as follows:

"Art. 1. The Chinese Government engages to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese government may hereafter agree with the German government relating to the disposition of all rights, interests, and concessions which, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, Germany now possesses in relation to province of Shantung.

"Art. 2. The Chinese Government engages that within the province of Shangtung and along its coast no territory or island will be ceded or leased to a third power under any pretext whatever.

"Art. 3. The Chinese Government consents to Japan's building a railway from Chefoo or Lungkow to join the Kiao-Chow-Tsinan railway.

"Art. 4. The Chinese Government engages, in the interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open by itself, as soon as possible, certain important cities and towns in the province of Shangtung as commercial ports. What places are to be opened are to be decided upon by the two governments by separate agreement."

Notes were also exchanged between the governments of China and Japan in 1918. From these notes Japan on the one hand would concentrate her troops from various parts of Shangtung to Kiao-Chow and one contingent in Tsinanfu, and withdraw her civil administration. On the other she would be granted the right to build two railways, one from Kaomi, 20 miles west of Kiao-Chow, to Suchow, about 250 miles, and the other from Tsinanfu to Shuntek, about 150 miles. These notes of 1918 were made by China as the price for Japan's promise to withdraw her troops and civil administration.

##### 5. HOW JAPAN PAVED HER WAY TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

Japan has been trying to apply her Korean policy to China. She wants first to control China's foreign affairs, secondly to control a large part of China's natural resources, and thirdly to influence China's home affairs.

Before March, 1917, China was repeatedly trying to get into war against Germany of her own volition, but Japan had no desire to let her. Japan did not want China to have a place at the Peace Conference, so that she might be China's representative. She did not want the wrongs done to China by her to be heard at the peace table. She wanted to settle the differences with China alone.

"In November, 1915, China tried to enter the contest as desired by the European Powers. On that occasion Baron Ishii, then Japanese minister of foreign affairs, said to the European ambassadors at Tokio, 'Japan could not view without apprehension the moral awakening of 400,000,000 Chinese, which would result from their entering the war.'

"China did not dare act contrary to the wishes of Japan, for she knew Europe could not help her in case of need, and she feared Japanese

aggression. But another opportunity came to China early in 1917, when the United States broke diplomatic relations with Germany and invited all the neutral countries of the world to follow her example.”<sup>9</sup>

Then Japan realized that she could no longer keep China neutral. She used the weakness of the Entente and the collapse of Russia to extort, first from England and then from France, Italy, Russia, treaties recognizing Japan's reversionary rights to all German possessions in China. She used the same situation to obtain from the United States the Lansing-Ishii agreement recognizing Japan's “special interests” in China. It has been said that she even had secret treaty with Germany, before the Armistice of the War, concerning the Far East. All these secret treaties and agreements were without the consent of China. It is difficult for justice itself to see that the world Powers were giving a piece of China's territory to Japan, in order that Japan might allow China to take part in the war to fight for the world course. As Senator Norris of Nebraska remarks, “It is thus clearly disclosed that while these leading governments of the world were inducing China to get into the war, in order that they might obtain her assistance and particularly that they might be able to get possession of the German ships interned in China's harbors, they were secretly plotting among themselves as to her destruction as soon as she had complied with their wishes and the war was over. In all the annals of history I do not believe there is recorded an instance of a more disgraceful and dishonorable agreement to carve up the territory, not of an enemy, but of an allied friend.”<sup>10</sup>

These communications between Japanese government and the British and French governments concerning Japan's claims in Shangtung and her allowing China into the world war, are as follows:<sup>11</sup>

At the beginning of 1917 the Japanese minister of foreign affairs at Tokyo approached the British ambassador at that place, with a view of bringing about an agreement with the British government. The British ambassador cabled to his government at London, and after receiving instructions from his government, wrote the Japanese government as follows:

“British Embassy, Tokyo, Feb. 16, 1917.—My dear Excellency: With reference to the subject of our conversation of the 27th ultimo, his Britannic majesty's government accede with pleasure to the request of the Japanese government for an assurance that they will support Japan's claims in regard to the disposal of Germany's rights in Shangtung and possessions in the islands north of the equator on the occasion of the peace conference; it being understood that the Japanese government will in the eventual peace settlement treat in the same spirit Great Britain's claims to the German islands south of the equator.

“I avail myself of this opportunity, M. le Ministre, to renew to your excellency the assurance of my highest consideration. Conyng-ham Greene, His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador.”



On February 21, 1917, the Japanese government replied to this communication of the British government as follows:

"The Japanese government is deeply appreciative of the friendly spirit in which your government has given assurance and happy to note it as fresh proof of the close ties that unite the two allied powers. I take pleasure in stating that the Japanese government on its part is fully prepared to support in the same spirit the claims which may be put forward at the peace conference in regard to the German possessions in the islands south of the equator."

While the Japanese government was waiting for a reply from the British government, it proceeded also to negotiate with the other allied governments. Its message to the French government was as follows:

"The Imperial Japanese government proposes to demand from Germany at the time of the peace negotiations the surrender of the territorial rights and special interests Germany possessed before the war in Shangtung and the islands situated north of the equator in the Pacific ocean. The Imperial Japanese Government confidently hopes the government of the French Republic, realizing the legitimacy of these demands, will give assurance that, her case being proved, Japan may count upon its full support in this question.

"It goes without saying that reparation for damages caused to the life and property of the Japanese people by the unjustifiable attacks of the enemy, as well as other conditions of peace, of a character common to all the entente powers, are entirely outside the consideration of the present situation."

A few days later the French ambassador replied to the Japanese foreign office as follows:

"The government of the French Republic is disposed to give the Japanese government its accord in regulating at the time of peace negotiations questions vital to Japan concerning Shangtung and the German islands in the Pacific north of the equator. It also agreed to support the demands of the Imperial Japanese Government for the surrender of the rights Germany possessed before the war in this Chinese province and these islands.

"M. Briand demands, on the other hand, that Japan give its support to obtain from China the breaking of its diplomatic relations with Germany and that it give this act desirable significance. The consequences of this in China should be the following:

"First, handing passports to the German diplomatic agents and consuls.

"Second, the obligation of all under German jurisdiction to leave Chinese territory.

"Third, the internment of German ships in Chinese ports and the ultimate requisition of the ships in order to place them at the disposition of the allies following the example of Italy and Portugal. According to the information of the French government there are fifteen German ships in Chinese ports, totalling about 40,000 tons.

"Fourth, requisition of German commercial houses established in China; forfeiting the right of Germany in the concession she possesses in certain parts of China."

Similar negotiations were entered into with Italy and Russia with the similar results.

It has been said that neither Wilson nor the Chinese delegates knew of the existence of these secret agreements, when they came to Paris. These agreements led to the victory of Japan in the Peace Conference.

#### 6. JAPAN'S VICTORY AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

After securing support from England, France, Italy and Russia on her claims in Shangtung, Japan came to the Peace Conference. When the question of Shangtung came up — it would not take long for the "Big Three" to decide it. Great Britain was an ally of Japan. She, no doubt, favored Japan's claims. It was also said that France and Japan had agreed beforehand to support each other on their claims. These three powers went even further. They decided the territorial problem of the Far East sometime in March, 1919, as Mr. T. F. Millard reported.<sup>12</sup> It was called the Tri-Power Entente. They had Asia divided up among themselves. Shangtung and some other provinces of China were to be under Japan. It was in the same month that United States secured the Allies' recognition of the "Monroe Doctrine" in the covenant of the League of Nations. The latter is a fact, but we hope the former is not true.

The psychological moment of the Peace Conference, at the time when the Shangtung question came up, strengthened Japan's claims. Italy, on account of the Fiume question, had withdrawn from the Conference. Japan was threatening to do the same, if she failed in her claim regarding Shangtung. In order to prevent the possible alliance of Japan, Russia and Germany, which would be a great opponent to the League of Nations, and to compromise Japan's failure in her demand for the racial equality, the great democratic leader, whose support China hoped to have, had to yield. Japan rejoiced in her victory. Imperialism had won. "Open diplomacy," "Self-determination," "Fighting for the World's Democracy," etc. were dreams.

After the Shantung question was settled, "The New Republic" remarked: "Those, who care for realities will at this time urge the President to stand unflinchingly on principle in the Italian and the Japanese controversies. Possibly such a stand will result in the withdrawal of Japan and Italy from the League. It will be a terrible pity if this is the outcome. But it will mean simply that these two Powers have chosen not to qualify for membership because they have, in the words of the Covenant, failed to give effective guarantees of their sincere intention to observe international obligations. This possibility must be faced. It is better to face it now than later, better to acknowledge disappointment to-day than to destroy the whole moral credit of the League by inaugurating it on broken pledges."<sup>13</sup>

## 7. THE "RETURNING" OF KIAO-CHOW TO CHINA BY JAPAN.

It was said that Japan was to return Kiao-Chow to China with full sovereignty. Japan has made similar promises to the world through her statesmen. In the ultimatum, which Japan sent Germany in August, 1914, it says, ".....to deliver on a date not later than September 15 to the Imperial Japanese authorities, without condition or compensation, the entire leased territory of Kiao-Chow with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China." On August 24 Count Okuma, the Premier of Japan at that time, declared: "As Premier of Japan, I have stated and now again state to the people of America and of the world that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or other peoples of anything which they now possess." Baron Makino, chairman of the Japanese delegation, in a statement published April 30th, 1919,<sup>14</sup> said "It has been stated that Japan intends to keep Kiao-Chow, and to occupy in perpetuity the fortress which her armies wrested from Germany. The statement is incorrect as we already have undertaken to restore Kiao-Chow to China and we shall do so. There is not one instance in history of Japan's having failed to keep her word, and it is precisely because no one is justified in doubting our word that we now ask to be left to effect restitution ourselves and that no step be taken which might have the appearance of unjustifiable suspicion." A few days later Baron Shimpei Goto, former foreign minister of Japan, gave expression to the same thought in New York. When the United States Senate protested against the Shangtung settlement in the peace treaty, such protesting led the Japanese foreign minister to issue a statement on August 5th, 1919, declaring that Japan did not intend to claim any rights affecting the territorial sovereignty of China in Shangtung. Tsingtao would be internationalized.

The things they have said are simply contradictory to some of their former statements regarding Shangtung. It was Baron Goto, who declared in the Diet in December, 1914, that Japan had made "no promise whatever with regard to the ultimate disposition of what she had acquired in Shangtung." In the ultimatum which Japan delivered to China May 7, 1915, the Japanese government declared: "The Imperial Japanese Government, in taking Kiao-Chow made immense sacrifices in blood and money.<sup>15</sup> Therefore after taking the place, there is not the least obligation on the Imperial Japanese Government's part to return the place to China."

"Yoshisawa, Japan's Shangtung investigator, said that Japan never intended to internationalize Tsingtao. He further said that the Japanese in Shangtung were strongly opposed to internationalization, as were

the Japanese at home. Baron Uchida's statement concerning internationalization was apparently given out to test foreign and Japanese opinions. Telegrams from Japan show that a storm of protest is raging against the plan, the militaristic party desiring to obtain the whole of Shangtung's mineral and industrial assets."<sup>16</sup>

When Japan was having her own way, she made one statement. When the world was protesting against her aggression in China, she made the other. How could we trust what the Japanese statesmen said? If she is sincere about the returning of Kiao-Chaw to China—why did she absolutely refuse to add such statement in the Peace Treaty and to tell the definite time of the returning? Dr. C. C. Wu remarks,<sup>17</sup> "It is interesting to note here that Japan promises to return to China sovereignty rights in Shangtung, although Germany never asserted any right of sovereignty."

In 1902, 1906, 1907 and 1908 Japan made similar agreements with England, Russia, France and United States recognizing the independence and integrity of Korea and China. What has become of Korea now? Those who know the situation in Manchuria and eastern Mongolia will readily see that the integrity of China in those places is absolutely disregarded by Japan. In fact Japan looks upon them as her colonies. Yet Baron Makino, in his statement quoted above, says, "there is not one instance in history of Japan's having failed to keep her word." We certainly hope that Japan will keep her word this time. In case she does, we must further examine the conditions under which Japan is going to return Kiao-Chow to China.

Accompanying the notorious twenty-one demands of May, 1915, the Japanese minister named to the Chinese foreign minister the following conditions under which Japan would return Kiao-Chow to China:

"1. The whole of Kiao-Chow Bay to be opened as a commercial port.

"2. A concession under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan to be established at a place designated by the Japanese Government.

"3. If the foreign powers desire it, an international concession may be established.

"4. As regards the disposal to be made of the buildings and properties of Germany and the conditions and procedure relating thereto, the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government shall arrange the matter by mutual agreement before the restoration."

In October, 1918, Count Okuma caused Japan's ten peace principles or conditions, two of which concerning Tsingtao, a sea port at Kiao-Chow, are as follows:<sup>18</sup>

"7. The cable line between Tsingtao and the southern islands, which is now occupied by the Japanese navy, should be held by Japan. The cable line is a property owned by a private concern, so that Germany should buy it up before conceding it to Japan.



"8. Japan should return Tsingtao to China, as she has declared she should have the right to hold the exclusive settlement there and various organs and buildings attached to the settlement. The Tsinan railway, which is the property of a private concern, should be bought up by the German government and then should be conceded to Japan."

According to Millard's Review,<sup>19</sup> in this Japanese concession in Tsingtao are located the wharves, customs house, railroad station, electric light and water works plants, municipal slaughter house, naval docks, dry-docks, in fact everything of value in the city. The rest of the city, comprising the old residence section, hotels and bathing beach, is to be returned to China. Under the good name of "returning" Japan will secure the best out of the German interests in Shangtung. Japan is simply to return an empty pocket to China.

Furthermore this Japanese concession in Tsingtao under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan means another Hong Kong in China. The Chinese government could not exercise any right there. She could not collect duties there as she used to do under the German administration. It is different from Shanghai, where the Chinese officials can exercise certain rights, and the sovereignty of China is respected.

We have been told that all Japan wants is the economic interest. This is enough to put Shangtung under Japan's mercy. We must bear in mind that China is a weak nation, while Japan is strong and aggressive. Many instances have proved that Japanese economic interest in China is the forerunner of her militarism, and imperialism. We have felt how the unseen power of economic exploitation enslaved a people. It is a new weapon of modern invasion without much notice of the world. Japan has employed this method very successfully in Manchuria.

We must admire the clever part of the Japanese delegates in drafting those clauses in the Peace Treaty regarding the German interests in China. They separate the German interests in Shangtung from those in Hankow and Tientsin. But Germany had no more right in Shangtung than in Hankow and Tientsin. This treaty does not give China rights to remedy the economic interests which are to be transferred to Japan. On the other hand the treaty between China and Germany grants China rights to remedy the railway and mines in the future. Japan has secured from China more than Germany did.

It is hoped that the League of Nations will see that China will be repaid for all mistreatments of her by other nations. "If necessary the League of Nations will compel Japan to return Kiao-Chow to China." But at the Peace Conference, which originated and formulated the League of Nations, the Powers were supporting one another in their territorial claims. We wonder whether they will not do the same even

under the League of Nations. If Imperialism is going to rule the League of Nations, the weaker nations will still have to suffer. "China realizes that the League will grant justice to every nation strong enough to win it in a fair fight."

"If the Great Powers which, under the present draft of the Covenant will control the League of Nations, really meant and intended that China's rights and interests should be protected by the League, why did the Council of Four, by M. Clemenceau, refuse China's offer to sign the Treaty provided the Council of Four would guarantee that the League of Nations would hear China's case." ("The Nation" International Relation Section, Sept. 20, 1919, pp. 420).

8. KIAO-CHOW AND OTHER GERMAN INTERESTS IN SHANGTUNG SHOULD BE RESTORED TO CHINA UNCONDITIONALLY BY THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

Tsingtao, with a railway running into the heart of Shangtung, serves as a great outlet of that province. China is not worrying so much about the Japanese aggression at Tsingtao or Kiao-Chow, the leased territory, as she is about the future of the whole province of Shangtung and its surrounding provinces. It is for the liberty and freedom of these people against Japanese Prussianism, that all the German interests in Shangtung should be restored to China. During the war about 200,000 Chinese laborers were sent over to France to work behind trenches. Most of these laborers were from Shangtung. They in many ways helped to win the war. What a great disappointment to them, when they return to China and find that their very home land has been handed over to Japan as the result of the war!

Shangtung is China's holy land as the cradle of her civilization. It, with South Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia now under Japanese domination, controls the outlet of Peking, the capital of China. When the Tsingtao-Tsinan railway is connected with the two trunk lines from Peking to the rest of China, the capital will be in the midst of Japanese influence. It is for the future independence of China that Japan must be kept out of Shangtung.

Kiao-Chow was leased to Germany under Prussian militarism. China was wronged. Now Japan comes to take Germany's place. China will never be righted by this substitution. Furthermore, when China declared war on Germany, all the treaties between China and Germany were invalidated. All German interests in Shangtung as well as in Hankow and Tientsin should go back to China. If it is argued that the Chino-German treaty still holds good, then how ex-

plain the provision in the same treaty that Kiao-Chow should not be ceded to a third power?

"Japan based its claim for the German rights in Shangtung also on the treaty and notes of 1915 and 1918 with China. It is to be noted, however, that the documents of 1915 were agreed to by China under coercion of an ultimatum threatening war in case of non-compliance with the twenty-one demands. The notes of 1918 were made by China as the price for Japan's promise to withdraw her troops, whose presence in the interior of Shangtung, as well as the establishment of Japanese civil administration bureaus in the district, had aroused such popular opposition that the Chinese government felt constrained to make the arrangement." <sup>20</sup>

The United States has sacrificed infinitely more in fighting over Alsace-Lorraine than Japan did over in Shangtung. The United States has never claimed any part of Alsace-Lorraine. It is a noble example for Japan to follow. She secured the German interests in Shangtung as purely following her imperialistic policy in China. She captured Tsingtoa by violating the neutrality of China. She won her claims in the Peace Conference through secret treaties. "It appears clear then that the council has been bestowing on Japan the rights, not of Germany, but of China, not of an enemy but of an ally. The more powerful ally had reaped a benefit at the expense not of the common enemy, but of the weaker ally."

Dr. Wellington Koo, one of China's delegates, on behalf of China and her delegation, proposed the following, regarding the settlement of the German interests in Shangtung:

"1. Kiao Chow should be handed over to the Big Five for administration.

"2. Kiao-Chow should be returned to China by the Big Five one year after the signing of the peace treaty, and Japan should abide by this arrangement.

"3. China recognizes the action of Japan in taking Tsingtao by force of arms, and consents to the payment to Japan of whatever war expenses she might have incurred in the capture of the place from Germany.

"4. Kiao-Chow should be thrown open to foreign trade and no foreign nation shall be allowed to hold any concession in the territory." <sup>21</sup>

This proposal is fair and reasonable and what the Peace Conference should have followed.

## 9. WHAT THE RECENT HISTORY OF MANCHURIA HAS TAUGHT US.

After the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905, all the Russian leased territory, concessions, railways, mines and other interests in South

Manchuria were transferred to Japan. The case of Shangtung is similar. Ever since the end of the Russo-Japanese war Japan has steadily and intensively Japanized South Manchuria. She has practically dominated the economic and political conditions. Her influence has been extended into Eastern Mongolia and northern Manchuria and now even into Siberia.

Japan owns the main line from Dairen to Changchun with number of branch lines. She has secured the right, through demands and secret agreements, to build five other lines in Manchuria and Mongolia. She has also had financial influence on a few other lines. All these will be the network of Japanese railways, which serve as the paths of the Japanese invasion of China. Under the notorious twenty-one demands the term of lease of Port Arthur and Dairen with the Antung-Mukden railway and the south Manchuria railway has been extended to the period of 99 years. Furthermore, the Korean line was merged with the South Manchurian Railway on August 1, 1917, drawing Korea and Manchuria more closely together.

The aggressive policy of Japan in Manchuria was shown when she organized the "Triple Administration" in 1918, which united the Kwantung Leased Territory, South Manchuria Railway Company and other Japanese consular authorities in Manchuria under one administration. The Governor-General of the Kwantung Leased Territory acts as the head. The Oriental Colonization Company and the government railways in Korea are also under his management. This triple administration is directly under the Prime Minister of Japan instead of the foreign office. The Bank of Chosen was recognized by the Japanese government as its official Bank in Manchuria. Such kind of movement is absolutely disregarding the sovereignty of China, and it is a step toward the absorption of Manchuria by Japan.<sup>22</sup>

Let us note the annual program of the Oriental Colonization Company in Manchuria and Mongolia. (1) This company receives 1,000,000 Yen from the Japanese government for colonizing Manchuria and Mongolia. (2) This Company at least annually transports 1,500 families from Japan and Korea to Manchuria and Mongolia. (3) Within ten years this Company should move 20,000 families of Japanese farmers and 30,000 families of Korean farmers, totaling about 200,000 persons, into Manchuria and Mongolia. These farmers should organize themselves into villages, which would receive civil and military protection of the Japanese government. (See Millard's Review, V. viii, pp. 454.)

All new towns developed within the South Manchuria Railway Zone are under the administration of the Company. Japanese soldiers pass freely under arms throughout the regions adjoining the Zone, while



the Chinese police and soldiers are allowed to enter the Zone under special permission of the Japanese. Troubles are often started by the Japanese soldiers near the Zone and Chinese authorities are compelled to give way in many cases.

This Japanese railway in Manchuria with the commercial port, Dairen, controls the commerce of Manchuria. Japanese goods coming into Manchuria have the government subsidies, special railway rates, preferential customs treatment and exemption from internal taxation. A general preference is given to Japanese merchants and traders by the Japanese Bank. Goods from other countries have no such advantages but are often delayed by railway transportation.

"An example of Japan's Chinese financial methods in China is found in the situation in Manchuria. After the Japanese-Russian war, and since then, the Japanese established many branches of the Yokohama Specie Bank, the Korean, and their other banks in Manchuria. When the present war began, the Japanese spread the report among the natives that the Russian ruble notes, which had a large circulation, were worthless; and the Japanese issued large quantities of 'Laotao' and 'Korean' notes. When the moratorium was declared, the Tuchun, or governor, of Feng-tien, fearing that the order might disastrously affect the banks of Manchuria, borrowed three million dollars from the Bank of Korea, which is Japanese, to increase the reserve in the local Manchurian banks.

"As compensation for this loan, the Japanese demanded that they should be allowed to issue a million dollars in inconvertible notes, which the Tuchun was required to proclaim, were to be accepted by all merchants and by government officials for all payments due. The fact is, that these inconvertible notes are merely fiat money; but the Japanese forced them on the Manchurians. An authority of Mukden says that the Japanese have issued thirty-five million two hundred and forty thousand pieces of what they call 'gold notes' and fifty-five million pieces of 'silver notes,' and that all these are inconvertible, and the natives of Manchuria will have much the worst of it in the end." <sup>23</sup>

Through the twenty-one demands the Japanese have the rights to own land and buildings and to operate all mines in South Manchuria. Japan is trying in many ways to buy all the valuable lands in Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia. The following is one of the ways she does it. The Japanese banks in Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia loan money to the natives at high interest, secured by a mortgage on lands. If the natives are unable to repay their loans, the Japanese banks get control of their lands.

"In Manchuria, as in Korea, the military element was undoubted-

ly guilty of aggressive and arbitrary behavior. Land was appropriated without adequate payment; buildings were taken and the rents left unpaid; the reasonable representations of the Chinese authorities were scouted and ignored.”<sup>24</sup> Things are done by the Japanese within the jurisdiction of the Chinese government, yet they may secure no permission from the Chinese authorities. In fact the Chinese officials in Manchuria are subject to the wishes of Japan.<sup>25</sup>

Manchuria has an area of 363,700 square miles. It has been said that it is capable of supporting a population of 100,000,000. Up to June, 1917, Japan has 112,258 Japanese and about 250,000 Koreans colonizing Manchuria.

To be sure all Japanese concessions and railways in Manchuria and Mongolia are leased from China. What Japan has been laboring in those places, she never expects to return to China.

The situation in Manchuria has at least thrown some light upon the question of Shangtung. With a main line running into the heart of Shangtung, which is also connected with the main trunk lines of China, and the “exclusive concession,” which is not less than the port of Tsingtao, Japan will be more able to transfer Shangtung into another Manchuria. So the matter of returning Kiao-Chow to China does not mean much either to Japan or to China. But through it Japan may gain some prestige among those who may not see the modern way of invasion.

It may be well for the reader to note some concrete examples of the recent outrages committed by the Japanese in Shangtung in July, 1919.<sup>26</sup>

“July 1. The Japanese gendarmes arrested Wang Chih-Chien, a Chinese student of the Christian University at Tsinan, in Chinese territory for encouraging the use of home-made goods.

“July 7. The Japanese during the course of their lantern procession smashed the premises of the Taikang Canning Factory. They carried banners on which were inscribed such words as ‘Japan has newly acquired Shangtung.’

“July 11. The Japanese arrested two farmers named Kiu and Li, near the Railway Zone, severely whipped them and finally forced them to drink kerosene oil.

“On the same day, the Japanese soldiers arrested two waiters in a Chinese restaurant near Chihlipan, also Chinese territory, and tortured them with unprecedented cruelty.

“July 17. The Japanese broke into the Tenth Middle School at Chingchow, another Chinese town, carried away a student named Ma Chung-hwai, and refused to release him.

“July 19. The Japanese soldiers entered the Agricultural College at Chingchow and carried away a Chinese student by the name of Lo Shen-chen.

“July 21. The Japanese gendarmes arrested three Shangtung evangelists and put them into small, hot, dark prison cells for three

days. They discharged the evangelists with the remark that they really loved China and ordered them not to be the dupes of the American missionaries."

The autocratic and aggressive policy of Japan is also revealed in her rule over Korea.<sup>27</sup>

"Their richest lands rapidly are passing under private and Japanese government ownership.

"The Korean language is abolished from the public schools, with the substitution of Japanese.

"Korean scholars are not permitted the higher education.

"The history of a proud Korea is excluded from the schools to make way for Japanese culture.

"All Koreans are forced to salute the Japanese flag and to worship the Japanese Emperor's tablet.

"Constant and bitter persecution of Christianity in all its activities, both in its distinctively religious activities and in its social and educational work, while official sanction is given Buddhist and Shinto propagandists.

"Japanese are in control of all business and industry.

"Constant inhumane treatment of any Korean who exhibits outwardly his endeavor to remain Korean."

As Senator McCormick says: "Thirty-five years Japanese foreign policy in Asia has been one of consistent perfidy and aggression. If any one doubts this, let him review his own memory of Japan's relation with China and Korea, her secret and now discovered violation of the pledges exchanged with the government of United States."<sup>28</sup>

#### 10. JAPAN'S "FRIENDLY" ATTITUDE AND POLICY TOWARDS CHINA.

In dealing with China, Japan is divided up into two parties. One is the continental party, which comprises mostly military leaders. This party wants to annex Manchuria, Eastern Mongolia, Shantung and Fukien Provinces as soon as possible. The other party is a party of financiers. They want to conquer China through economical forces. Both parties are merciless to China.

A Japanese writer declares:<sup>29</sup> "A united, awakened, organized, efficient China is a menace to the very existence of Japan." So Japan's policy toward China is to keep her weak and divided. Japan has been supporting different military parties in China. She has been helping them with money, munitions, and in many cases even with men, to fight with each other. This is to keep China divided. If one party is not favorable to Japan, she will help the other to overthrow it. The overthrow of Yuen Shih-Kai was participated in by Japan. General Aoki, a Japanese general, was in charge of the rebel forces. Yuan Shih-Kai was considered an avowed enemy of Japan. The Black Dragon Society, a Japanese or-

ganization with great influence upon the Japanese government, advised his overthrow. When Yuan was in power this organization declared:<sup>30</sup> "We should induce the Chinese revolutionists, the imperialists and other Chinese malcontents to create trouble all over China. The whole country will be thrown into disorder and Yuan's government will consequently be overthrown."

Civil war has been going on for sometime in China. Japan is the nation which can stop it. If Japan would stop loaning money and arms to both parties, they simply could not go on fighting. In the last two years Japan loaned over Yen 248,100,000 to China, and more than 50% of the money was spent for soldiers, as Mr. H. K. Tong declared. On the one hand Japan was carrying out her policy to keep China divided. On the other she could control a great part of China's natural resources as the mortgage of the loans. The Chinese Peace Conference met again and again but could not do anything. All the delegates agreed to reduce the power of the militarists, but no government in China dared to carry out such terms, as the Chinese militarists were still in power and supported by Japan.

Militarism is what China has been fighting against and what Japan wants to dominate China with. Most of the secret treaties between China and Japan were concluded by the Chinese militarists, without the consent of the Chinese people. Several militarists now dominating north China are supported by Japanese money, using Japanese advisers and Japanese arms.

"The country has been overrun with bandits, mostly ex-soldiers, who are armed with modern weapons secured from Japan. Japanese agents have encouraged, if they have not actually stirred up strife. All this Japan feels to be to her interest, for the worse that things are in China, the sooner Japan will be needed to come over and restore order. Evidence comes from many quarters that she is actively at work, both openly and secretly."<sup>31</sup> Japan must keep her hands off China, or China will never have peace.

## 11. PROBLEMS BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN AS A CHALLENGE TO THE WORLD.

Japan's policy toward China is purely imperialistic. It is opposed to Democracy and Christian principles. All the injustices and wrongs which Japan has done to China in the last four years must be righted. The twenty-one demands must be re-examined, the secret treaties scrutinized, the illegitimate ones canceled. Japan is challenging the justice and democracy of the world. China is a weak nation. It is up to the world to accept Japan's challenge.



Japan has strong propaganda at work in China. Japanese propagandists in China point out to the Chinese the aggression upon China by the European Powers in the last three decades as the signs of "white peril." They talk about future wars between white race and yellow race. The ideas of "Asia for the Asiatics," etc. are spread in the midst of the educated Chinese. They also point out that China and Japan are closely related in race, in civilization and in geographical situation. They further insist that China must depend upon Japan for support and co-operation to fight for the future of Asia. Such ideas have actually led some influential Chinese to believe that Japan is the sole savior of China.

Since this Peace Conference, Japanese propagandists have told the Chinese that the World Powers have no mercy on China. They did not support China in her claims. It is up to the World Powers to abolish their aggressive policies in China and to support China's claims, in order to break down the Japanese false ideas in China.

In reviewing the recent history of China, Japan has done more wrongs to China than any other nation. In spite of the fact that Japan and China belong to the same race, China will never trust Japan unless Japan changes her attitude and policy toward China. In order to have an equal standing with the white race Japan must help China to become a strong nation, but Japan has been trying with all her might "to keep China weak and divided." The national interests are so strong in Asia that a war between white race and yellow race is rather remote.

China with enormous natural resources, yet is so weak. She welcomes friendly helps from other nations but not encoachments nor interferences. She has been struggling for Democracy. Democracy will come to her. Yet it remains to be a challenge to the world.

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